UNITED
NATIONS

S

Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/25228
3 February 1993

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

LETTER DATED 3 FEBRUARY 1993 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I.
OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF ROMANIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS
ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Further to my letter of 30 January 1993 (S/25227), and with reference to the statement of the President of the Security Council delivered to the media on 28 January 1993 (S/25190), I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of the aide-mémoire on the actions and concrete measures taken by the Government of Romania for observing the embargo against Yugoslavia and the needs for assistance to Romania in this respect.

As stated in my previous letter, as well as in the aide-mémoire, I would like to use this opportunity to reiterate, once again, the appeal of the Government of Romania for an increased international presence for monitoring the observance of the sanctions regime in order actively to support the Romanian authorities in the implementation of the embargo. Mindful of the fact that it is for the first time that Romania is confronted with such a complex and difficult situation, and owing to the fact that Romania does not possess adequate means commensurate with the prevailing circumstances, international assistance would be of utmost importance.

In this context, may I also submit to the attention of the Security Council and its member States the proposal made in the attached aide-mémoire concerning, inter alia, the importance of a United Nations presence in the Romanian-Ukrainian contact zone on the Danube.

I would be grateful if you would circulate this letter as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Valeriu FLOREAN
Chargé d'affaires a.i.

93-06938 3873i (E) 040293 940293

/...

Annex

Aide-mémoire dated 30 January 1993 on the actions and concrete steps taken by the Government of Romania for observing the embargo against Yugoslavia and the needs for assistance to Romania in this respect

I. LEGAL MEASURES TAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENT OF ROMANIA

1. After the adoption, on 30 May 1992, of United Nations Security Council resolution 757 (1992), setting up the total and complete embargo against Yugoslavia, on 3 June 1992, the Government of Romania issued a declaration which expressed its determination to comply with the embargo. At the same time, it was pointed out that, owing to the serious consequences affecting the national economy, the Government of Romania reserved its right to claim compensations, in accordance with Article 50 of the Charter of the United Nations. A memorandum indicating the value of the direct and indirect losses of Romania in 1992, as a result of observing the embargo, was submitted on 29 January 1993 to the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 724 (1991) concerning Yugoslavia.

2. In compliance with the Government's decision, all the Ministers involved issued orders regarding the observance of the embargo, in their respective sector and, in this sense, precise instructions were given (the Ministry of Trade, the Ministry of Industry, the Ministry of Finance, the General Customs Directorate, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Transport and the Ministry of the Interior). At the governmental level, a task force was set up, consisting of representatives from all the ministries involved.

3. On 20 June 1992, the Government of Romania submitted to the Security Council a memorandum (S/24142) on the measures taken with regard to the provisions of resolution 757 (1992), and on 15 July 1992, an addendum (S/24142/Add.1), which detailed the actions subsequently taken. At the same time, the Government manifested its readiness to accept international experts to assist the Romanian authorities.

4. On 20 August 1992, the Government of Romania passed further detailed instructions in order to strengthen the measures taken for complying with the embargo, to consolidate the structures set up previously and to ensure the strict surveillance of international traffic on the Danube, in cooperation with the neighbouring riparian countries.

5. On 18 November 1992 and in accordance with Security Council resolution 787 (1992) adopted on 16 November 1992, the Government of Romania established adequate measures and obligations incumbent on the Romanian institutions and issued decision No. 771, dated 18 November 1992.

II. PRACTICAL ACTIONS AND MEASURES

6. On this basis, steps were taken in order to stop the ships carrying cargo to or from Yugoslavia, to ban operating the cargo coming from or going to Yugoslavia and to prevent the transfer of funds or any commercial activity involving legal bodies or citizens from Yugoslavia. Consequently, 4,588 ships and 4,223 vehicles for land transport were subject to customs inspections.

7. During this time, in the harbour of Galati there arrived ships displaying several flags, mostly Ukrainian and carrying, without the Security Council Sanctions Committee's approval, cargo that was banned by resolution 787 (1992). The Romanian authorities prohibited the transshipment of these ships along the Romanian sector of the Danube (Galati-Orsova) and either sent them back or retained them in the Romanian harbours.

8. Owing to the great number of ships to be found in the Galati harbour roadstead, the latter became extremely crowded, thus making the necessary manoeuvres impossible and hindering radio communications. Consequently, there was the danger of fire outbreaks and of pollution with catastrophic consequences and great difficulties for the river traffic. The Romanian authorities have made every effort in order to regulate this dangerous situation. The Security Council Sanctions Committee has given its agreement so that all empty Yugoslav barges be permitted to transit route along the Romanian sector of the Danube. Loaded Yugoslav barges were taken to a shelter-zone near the Braila harbour.

9. Between November and December 1992, in the Galati harbour, there were detained five ships under the Yugoslav flag - Velebit, Orasac, Kumanovo, Bihac and Kaimakalan - with 40 barges loaded in Ukrainian harbours with oil-refined products. The alleged final destination was the Bulgarian harbour of Vidin but, on inspection, there were no documents to prove this.

III. VIOLATIONS OF THE EMBARGO BY YUGOSLAV SHIPS AND MEASURES TAKEN BY ROMANIAN AUTHORITIES

10. The Yugoslav tugboat Bihac availed itself of permission given to return to its loading harbour (at Reni, in the Ukraine) and, on 14 January 1993, requested permission to leave, in order to protect the Yugoslav barges stationed in the Ukrainian harbour during winter. On 19 January 1993, the above-mentioned tugboat returned to the Galati roadstead with a convoy of four barges, loaded with oil-products, but refused to submit to the Harbour Master's Office and continued its route. At short intervals, the other Yugoslav ships, moored at Braila under orders from the Romanian authorities, forcibly broke through and left with Bihac in the lead.

11. All along the Romanian sector of the Danube, the Romanian authorities - the Harbour Master's Offices, the border and custom officers - tried to establish direct contact with the ships but, as a consequence of the latter's refusal, constraints had to be exercised and all available means had to be

used in order to stop the ships. In this context, two border vessels (a motor gun-boat and a border patrol boat) together with the Harbour Master's Office motor boat and police helicopters intercepted each of the tugboats separately and, through sound or optical signals, summoned them to stop. The border patrol boats circumnavigated each convoy and the helicopter surveyed the area. The tugboats did not submit and continued to sail upstream.

12. The Yugoslav ships Kaimakalan and Kumanovo were also intercepted by the border authorities and summoned to stop but they did not comply with the orders. Subsequently, another border authorities boat and a police helicopter summoned them, once more, to stop, but the ships ignored all signals and warnings and followed their route.

13. Likewise, the Yugoslav tugboat Velebit with 10 barges was intercepted and summoned to stop by a police helicopter and a border patrol boat, which circumnavigated the convoy. Momentarily, the Velebit convoy, coming within very close distance, jeopardized the border patrol boats.

14. While still in the harbour of Braila, the captains of the Yugoslav ships had threatened that if force was used against them they would either set the ships on fire or they would spill the entire oil cargo in the Danube. Spilling or setting the oil on fire would lead to a massive ecological disaster, which would seriously affect the ecosystem of the lower Danube, the Danube delta included. Moreover, as all major towns, harbours and settlements alongside the Danube use water from the river, it would mean that for approximately 10 per cent of Romania's population, the access to drinking water - and water in general - would be endangered. None of these settlements has the means to fight against pollution caused by oil products.

15. Along the Danube's Romanian-Bulgarian sector the actions meant to stop the Yugoslav convoys were taken in cooperation with the Bulgarian authorities. In these actions border patrol boats and helicopters were used as already mentioned. The Sanctions Assistance Mission, international observers coming from European Community and Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe countries currently present in Romania and Bulgaria took part in some of the described actions.

16. The measures taken by the Romanian authorities were of a constraining nature. They went far beyond the river traffic surveillance means permitted by international rules. In this way the constraining steps were clearly within the framework of the pertinent Security Council resolutions concerning the use of force. These actions remained within the limits set by those United Nations Security Council resolutions for safeguarding human lives and avoiding excessive or irreparable damages to property.

17. On 26 January, the President of Romania examined the serious situation created in the Danube region, and the same situation was twice debated by the Government, on 27 and 29 January 1993. On 27 January, the Government issued a special statement in this respect.

18. Throughout this time the Romanian Government seized the Security Council of these developments - on 28 January a presidential statement was issued. Steps were also taken with regard to the Yugoslav authorities, which said they found it impossible to get in radio contact with the ships and had no means to influence the captains of the ships, one way or another.

19. Despite all measures taken by Romanian authorities the Yugoslav convoys continued the series of violations, ignoring warnings given insistently and repeatedly, exposing the border patrol boats, as well as other ships navigating on the Danube, to risky situations, and managed to arrive in the Yugoslav sector of the Danube (the last one arrived in the morning of 30 January).

20. Since the morning of 30 January 1993, in the Romanian sector of the Danube there was not a single convoy navigating under the Yugoslav flag. However, the Romanian authorities are informed that in the Ukrainian harbour of Reni there is a great number of tugboats and barges loaded with oil-products, and which may attempt at any moment to sail upstream, towards Yugoslavia. The Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has asked the Foreign Ministry of Ukraine for an emergency meeting, in order to examine the situation.

IV. FURTHER MEASURES AND ACTIONS

21. The Government of Romania will take further steps to ensure strict implementation of the United Nations Security Council embargo, and will resort to all necessary measures, including constraint, in compliance with the provisions of the pertinent Security Council resolutions.

22. Taking into account the fact that the violation on the Danube of the embargo starts outside Romania, the Romanian Government requests the Security Council to take firm action, beginning directly at the source, so as to prevent and stop the traffic towards Yugoslavia of oil-loaded barges moored, at present, in the harbours of Reni, Izmail or in other places.

23. In order to implement and expand the measures approved so far, the Romanian Government manifests its willingness and submits to the attention of the Security Council, that a United Nations presence be placed in the contact zone on the Danube, between Romania and Ukraine, since the ships violating the embargo came from that direction.

24. The Romanian Government reiterates the fact that it requested international assistance, i.e. fast motor boats and means of communication, necessary to intercept and summon ships that violate the embargo. Such international assistance has not yet been received. The five Yugoslav convoys looked like genuine floating fortresses, made of tugboats surrounded by quite a number of barges loaded with oil products. The Romanian Government requests technical assistance, in means and expertise, considering the fact that it is for the first time that Romanian specialists have to cope with this kind of situation.

25. Owing to possible collisions or some deliberate actions, one of the Government's main concerns is the maintaining of potential danger of oil pollution of the Danube waters (in several Romanian harbours, there are eight barges under the Yugoslav flag or other foreign flags, retained at present by legal authorities). Consequently, the Government requests humanitarian assistance to prevent pollution in emergency cases and to restore the environment and purify the water if the case should arise.

UNITED
NATIONS

S

Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/25229
3 February 1993

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

LETTER DATED 3 FEBRUARY 1993 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I.
OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF YUGOSLAVIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS
ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

I have the honour to transmit, enclosed herewith, the letter by His Excellency, Mr. Ilija Djukic, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, addressed to you.

I should be grateful if you would have the present letter and its annex circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Dragomir DJOKIC
Ambassador
Chargé d'affaires a.i.

Annex

Letter dated 2 February 1993 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia addressed to the President of the Security Council

Despite many warnings of the highest representatives of the FR of Yugoslavia, armed attacks and provocations by Muslim soldiers from the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and by the regular military forces of the Republic of Croatia continue against the territory of the FR of Yugoslavia. Their goal is, undoubtedly, to draw, by all means, the FR of Yugoslavia in the civil and religious war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, i.e. in the military conflict with the Republic of Croatia, and to lay all the blame and shift the responsibility for the prolongation of the crisis in the territory of the former SFR of Yugoslavia onto the FR of Yugoslavia. Thus, the necessary preconditions will be fulfilled to carry out the present intentions of some international factors to apply the remaining enforcement measures available under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations against the FR of Yugoslavia. The FR of Yugoslavia has, on numerous occasions, clearly and fully aware of the unforeseeable consequences that such acts might have, drawn the attention of the Security Council to them.

The gravity of the situation, Mr. President, requires that I write to you again and stress the danger of these senseless and unprovoked acts risking to bring about an unintended and uncontrollable spill-over of the war into the wider Balkan region and possibly beyond it. Therefore, I feel free to advise you of the violations of the integrity of the FR of Yugoslavia by Muslim and Croatian forces in 1993 alone which prove this concern:

1 January

The Muslim forces from the area of Jošanička Reka opened small arms fire on vehicles and passers-by on the Mali Zvornik-Ljubovija road. The traffic was suspended for two hours.

10 January

Around 3 p.m. from the area of the village of Voljevica (Bosnia-Herzegovina), the Muslim forces attacked from two anti-aircraft machine-guns the villages of Grabovica and Podnemić, about 3 km south of Ljubovija.

15 January

The Muslim forces fired mortars (15 shells) from the area of the village of Bjelovac in Bosnia-Herzegovina at the village of Grabovica on the Yugoslav side.

16 January

The Muslim forces attacked the town of Bajina Bašta and the area of the "Perućac" security post. Fifteen shells fell on the town and 25 on the security post. One person was injured and damage was done to the department store and a house in construction in Bajina Bašta.

17 January

The Muslim forces attacked the hydroelectric power station and the "Perućac" security post twice during the day. The attacks came from the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. The "Jagoštica" security post was under less heavy fire.

18 January

The Muslim forces from the area of the village of Kunjevac attacked the area of the village of Grabovac in the territory of the FR of Yugoslavia by firing 9 shells from 82 mm mortars. No casualties or damage were inflicted.

A group of Muslims tried, during the day, to get to the territory of the FR of Yugoslavia by crossing the Drina River in three boats in the area of the village of Jagoštica.

19 January

During the day, Muslim extremists occasionally opened fire from their positions in Bosnia-Herzegovina on Bajina Bašta and Perućac.

20 January

At 3.30 p.m., the Muslim forces attacked the area of Bajina Bašta with 3 shells fired from an 82 mm mortar.

24 January

The Muslim forces opened fire four times on the guards of the Army of Yugoslavia patrolling their beat in the area of Bajina Bašta.

25 January

The Muslim forces from the area of the village of Osatica (Bosnia-Herzegovina) repeatedly opened machine-gun fire on the security of the "Perućac" power station and the Yugoslav border authorities at the "Sjeverin" and "Raca" posts belonging to the 16th border battalion from Bajina Bašta.

* * *

23 January

At about 4 p.m., the Croatian soldiers in the area of Pelimovo Brdo attacked from machine-guns the positions held by the Yugoslav Army in the Sitnica-Borovik area (border between Montenegro and Croatia).

24 January

The Croatian armed forces in the area of Cesmina Glava used AA machine-guns to attack the Yugoslav forces in the area of Sitnica (Montenegrin-Croatian border).

25 January

Between 3.30 p.m. and 6 p.m., the Croatian army operating in the area of the villages of Dubravka, Cesmina Glava and Crna Ljut attacked from anti-aircraft guns and machine-guns the positions of the Yugoslav units in the area of the village of Sitnica (Montenegrin-Croatian border).

28 January

During the day, the forces of the Republic of Croatia opened twice small arms fire on the forces of the FR of Yugoslavia stationed on the Montenegrin-Croatian border. The FR of Yugoslavia lodged a protest through the UNPROFOR liaison officer.

I wish to point out this time again that the FR of Yugoslavia is strongly committed to a peaceful settlement in the territory of the former SFR of Yugoslavia, including for the war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, and views the negotiations conducted within the Geneva Conference as the right road towards that end. This was also the main reason for our utmost restraint in responding to the attacks and provocations by the Muslim and Croatian forces. However, and I would like you to believe us, our patience and restraint are on end, and no one should doubt that the FR of Yugoslavia can adequately respond to safeguard its territorial integrity and sovereignty. Therefore, I call on you as the President of the Security Council to do your utmost to have the Security Council take urgent and effective measures, as laid down in the Charter, in order to protect the integrity of the FR of Yugoslavia and prevent any further actions by the Muslim and Croatian forces.

We believe in the power of authority of the United Nations and the Security Council and expect that they will act immediately.

(Signed) Ilija DJUKIC

UNITED
NATIONS

A S

General Assembly Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

A/48/76
S/25230
3 February 1993

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Forty-eighth session
ELIMINATION OF RACISM AND
RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-eighth year

Letter dated 3 February 1993 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i.
of the Permanent Mission of Yugoslavia to the United Nations
addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith a document of the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia entitled "Human rights violations and incitement of inter-ethnic hatred in the media campaign against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" (see annex).

I should be grateful if you would have the present letter and its annex circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under the item entitled "Elimination of racism and racial discrimination", and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Dragomir DJOKIĆ
Ambassador
Chargé d'affaires a.i.

ANNEX

HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AND INCITEMENT OF INTER-ETHNIC HATRED IN THE MEDIA CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA

The Government of the FR of Yugoslavia, recalling that media have an important role in promoting peace and international understanding in opposing war, dissemination of prejudice, misinformation, incitement of national and religious hatred or discrimination of any kind; and that they should contribute to the elimination of misunderstanding among nations, making citizens of a country sensitive to the needs of those of other countries and ensuring respect for and dignity of all nations, warns that, before and during the Yugoslav crisis, and particularly since the outbreak of the armed conflicts, continued propaganda of moral and political disqualification of the Serbian people and false presentation of the actual activities of the FR of Yugoslavia, i.e. Republics of Serbia and Montenegro, and its highest authorities and officials, have been conducted.

I

We wish, in particular, to point to the current escalation of such propaganda in some countries which is especially perilous in the present period crucial for the termination of war and negotiations on a just and peaceful settlement of the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The latest propaganda campaign conducted, for example, in the German media against the FR of Yugoslavia and the Serbian people as a whole has culminated in the statements by CDU MP Stefan Schwarz which, by the brutality of accusations, no longer represent propaganda but borders on psychopathology (implanting of a dog embryo in Moslem women, burning of children in furnaces, etc.). It is a fact that these incredible allegations are being accepted and spread through influential TV broadcasts and the press (the campaign is being moved to the Netherlands and the USA).

Such a degree of demonization of a nation creates mass prejudice, a strong resentment of Serbs, which, inter alia, directly harms peace efforts of the FR of Yugoslavia and other factors concerned in achieving a final, lasting and just outcome to the Yugoslav tragedy.

The Yugoslav public has received with regret and indignation the one-sided and offensive reports, which have been published for a long time in a part of the French press, including the anti-Serbian propaganda on French TV (statement by the former President of the E. P. Simonne Veil in favour of military intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina). They have been joined by humanitarian organizations "Doctors without Frontiers" and "Doctors of the World". It was publicly said that 11 million francs were

carmarked for this campaign, for propaganda full of lies against a traditional friend - Serbia and its Government and President, which is incompatible with the goals and ethics of humanitarian organizations.

The fierceness of such campaign attributing dark symbols of the past to the leaders of a country (offensive identification of the President of the Republic of Serbia with Hitler, uncorroborated accusations against the FR of Yugoslavia and the Serbian side concerning the concentration camps similar to the Nazi ones, etc.) can, unfortunately, undermine and devalue peace efforts and create a climate in public opinion that any military intervention and use of force are justifiable.

A similar propaganda escalation against the FR of Yugoslavia and the Serbian people has also been noticed in the Turkish media. Bosnian Serbs and Serbia have been labelled as aggressors on their own territory; "Ortbodox expansionism is being blamed for generating the war"; ethnic cleansing of the Moslem population in Bosnia-Herzegovina allegedly carried out by the Serbian authorities and supported by the FR of Yugoslavia including unsubstantiated mass rape of Moslem women is being condemned. In doing so, the true state of affairs in Bosnia-Herzegovina has been deliberately ignored, in which a civil war is being waged and responsibility can be at least shared, in order to justify the pursuance of some higher Islamic goals (establishment of a Moslem state in Bosnia-Herzegovina) and military intervention as a means to implement these goals. Such dangerous propaganda is fuelling a religious war whose elements, unfortunately, are already evident in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Iranian media also conduct the campaign with the same goal but they go one step further; they explicitly call on Islamic countries to take a direct and independent action against the "Orthodox aggressor" in order to safeguard integrity and independence of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The public is constantly indoctrinated with lies, without any proof, or presented with disinformation in favour of Bosnian Moslems.

The protagonists of this propaganda campaign do not refrain from advocating military intervention, prolongation and escalation of war. This is in direct contravention with Article 20 of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. It is astonishing that some prominent statesmen and ministers make, and influential media in the USA, Germany, Turkey, Iran,

Austria and some other countries carry, statements or that the latter advocate in their own comments an armed retaliation against the Serb people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and the FR of Yugoslavia as the only way out of the Yugoslav crisis.

Unprecedented are also statements by many former, and unfortunately, some politicians currently in power "on the need for an immediate military intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the FR of Yugoslavia after the Kuwait model", on the necessity for a rapid and forceful military intervention by Western powers in the territory of the former SFRY indicating Serb-held positions in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the destruction of communications and airports in the FR of Yugoslavia or those on "the necessary form of military intervention against Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina and even against the FR of Yugoslavia if Serbs are not pacified".

During the preparations for the recent elections in the FR of Yugoslavia, threats were addressed through the media to the Serbian people that, if they did not elect those favoured by influential foreign centres a military intervention will follow. This is an inadmissible foreign interference and instigation to war and fully contravenes the basic principles of democracy and the Copenhagen document on free elections.

Special attention should be drawn to the propaganda intimidation of the world public that Serbs are preparing, in the next stage, "to commit an aggression against Kosovo", an integral part of the territory of the State of the FR of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbia. It is being ignored that a war can break out in Kosovo only as a consequence of an armed rebellion of the Albanian separatists and as a result of foreign military intervention, which would violate the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Serbia and the FR of Yugoslavia.

II

We also wish to point to the long-standing discriminatory nature and many harmful consequences of the propaganda campaign against the FR of Yugoslavia and the Serbian people by giving some examples.

The protagonists of this campaign have declared the Serbian people as the "international pariah nation", comparing them to a primitive group discriminated against in a caste society. In order to impose an isolation against and to ostracise the FR of Yugoslavia and the Serbian people, many information, scientific, cultural and sports links with them have been cut. Contrary to all principles of the UN Charter and the CSCE Final Act of Helsinki, the campaign imposed a ban on the flow of people and ideas and an information curtain was drawn around the FR of Yugoslavia as in the cold war period. (After 60 years, the "Politika" daily is prohibited to publish Walt Disney cartoons, scientific institutions and press agencies are denied subscription to foreign scientific magazines and other newspapers, the Royal Danish Academy decided to sever all forms of scientific cooperation and to deny scholarships to students from the FR of Yugoslavia, etc.).

Press, radio and TV broadcasts involved in this campaign have systematically applied double standards in the interpretation of the rights of the constituent nations of the former SFRY to self-determination, as well as in the presentation of events in the course of the Yugoslav crisis. Some media in Germany, Austria, Holy See, Turkey and Iran are most notorious in the discrimination against the Serbian people. They are occasionally joined by large circulation dailies in the USA, France, the Netherlands and other countries. For example, these influential media welcomed the proclamation of new States (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia) as an achievement in the exercise of the democratic right of peoples to self-determination. They supported their immediate international recognition, blocking information warning of possible disastrous consequences which, unfortunately, proved to be true. The same media, while justifying the dismantling of the internationally recognized borders of the former SFRY, called, at the same time, for the inviolability of the administrative borders of its former Socialist Republics which are known to be arbitrarily drawn by the communist regime in the post-war period.

These media did not even inform about the democratic decision of the Serb people in Krajina reached in a referendum (Krajina is a part of the territory within the administrative borders of the former Socialist Republic of Croatia predominantly inhabited by Serbs) as well as of Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina (they account for 34 per cent of the population) that they wanted to continue to live in Yugoslavia, but accused them of

"the aggression against the newly emerged democracies". Thus, Serbs became a people who were denied the right to self-determination and to continue to live in their own State. They were accused of "aggression against" and "occupation of" the territories in which they have lived for centuries as the majority population. The world media and public rightly welcomed the pulling down of the Berlin Wall and the re-unification of the German people. It is absurd that the same media support the erection of a new wall separating another European nation - Serbs.

The application of double standards, together with the discrimination of Serbs, has culminated in the campaign against the decision of the Serbian people in Serbia and the Montenegrins to continue to live in a common State, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The State in which "the pariah nation" lives has been declared as an "aggressor" so that the "pariah" could be removed from the UN General Assembly, CSCE and other international organizations. A lot of information proving that such acts were unnecessary was blocked or distorted. For example, the information that JNA members, citizens of the FR of Yugoslavia, left Bosnia-Herzegovina already in June 1992. At the same time, nothing was said about 60,000 members of the Croatian armed forces fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina, although it was noted by the UN General Assembly and the Security Council. Information on arms embargo violations by Croats and Moslems and on foreign mercenaries and mujahedins in their armies have been disclosed only after a complete disqualification of Serbs as aggressors and the main culprits in the war.

Double standards and media discrimination were also used against over one million Serb refugees. At the time of the armed conflict in Croatia, the world public received almost no information that more than 250,000 Serbs had to flee their ancestral homes and find refuge in Serbia. The truth about the ethnic cleansing practised at the time in Western Slavonia and other areas whose victims were Serbs has only recently reached the world public. The public has not yet been informed that the Serb population in Zagreb and other towns outside UNPAs has been more than halved.

Even graver media discrimination has been carried out during the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Influential media have thoroughly informed of the tragic plight of Moslem and Croat refugees. Very few news on hundreds of thousands of Serbs who fled the atrocities of the same war to Serbia, Montenegro and Krajina have been released.

A direct consequence of such propaganda is that a million refugees are the sole concern of Serbia, Montenegro and the FR of Yugoslavia. Furthermore, the same propaganda machinery did not hesitate to impose tough economic and other sanctions and inflict isolation against a country with so many refugees.

Moreover, the nation which has received a million refugees has been accused of organizing - with the support of the authorities of the FR of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbia - systematic ethnic cleansing. All information denying such allegations have been ignored. For example, the fact that 34,000 Muslims, mostly women and children, fled nowhere else but to Serbia.

In order to further discredit the Serbs and the FR of Yugoslavia, a misinformation on the existence of concentration camps for Croats and Muslims in Yugoslavia has been launched, which proved to be untrue. Accusations that Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina allegedly torture thousands of prisoners by "methods exceeding those of Nazis" (US media mention even 70,000 prisoners), though unsubstantiated, continue to be topical in this militant propaganda.

The manipulations have escalated after new accusations have been made that Serbian people, Serbia and the FR of Yugoslavia are committing organized war crimes and massive rapes in the territory of the former SFRY. In TV programmes and some newspapers, Serbian victims were presented as Muslims and Croats massacred by Serbs. At the same time, testimonies and information on the suffering of Serbs, sent unsuccessfully by Serbian and other sources and agencies to the world, were not accepted. As a result of arbitrary political misconceptions, without any proof and basis in international law, some prominent Serbian leaders were identified as war criminals.

Double standards and discrimination were applied also in information on the destruction of cultural heritage. The news of the unspeakable devastation of the Serbian Orthodox temples and Serbian cultural heritage in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina could hardly reach the media because they did not fit into the already created image of "aggressive" and uncivilized Serbs.

III

The propaganda campaign against the FR of Yugoslavia, Serbia and Montenegro reached its peak with the satanization of an entire nation by spreading prejudices, misconceptions, untruths, national and religious hatred, thus discriminating against all members of the Serbian and Montenegrin nation and jeopardizing their human rights. The campaign, though designed to reach short-term political goals, will have far-reaching consequences not only in inter-State relations but also in the possibilities of normal communication between members of the Serbian and other nations.

The Government of the FR of Yugoslavia reiterates that such propaganda campaign is in contravention of the basic principles and provisions of the Covenant on basic political and civil rights, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the United Nations decision on the freedom of information and the United Nations Charter itself. The Government of the FR of Yugoslavia particularly underlines that any continuation, and especially escalation of such propaganda, directly harms the peace process initiated in Geneva and all other peace efforts aimed at ending the war and restoring peace in the territory of the former SFRY, particularly in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Such propaganda activity, especially when efforts are being made to bring the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina to an end and when negotiations are underway to reach a just and lasting solution to the conflict in this former Yugoslav republic, goes beyond the universally accepted international legal standards and is in direct contravention of the provisions of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Art.20), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (Art. 4) and the Declaration on the basic principles relating to mass media contribution to strengthening peace and international understanding, promotion of human rights and combating racism, apartheid and instigation of war (UNESCO, 1978).

Such behaviour, that is, twisting and ignoring the true facts is also contrary to numerous UN General Assembly resolutions and decisions which explicitly state that freedom of information inevitably requires the readiness and ability to use them without privileges and abuses, and with respect of the moral obligation of unprejudiced seeking of facts and dissemination of information, while condemning all forms of propaganda aimed at planning, provoking or encouraging any threat to peace or breach of the peace or an act of aggression.

/...

The Government of the FR of Yugoslavia underlines its lasting, asserted orientation towards a peaceful solution of conflicts in the territory of the former SFRY. It emphasizes in particular that cessation of the armed conflict, achievement of peace and ensurance of equal rights of the three constituent peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina are priority goals in its efforts along the lines of the best interests of the Serbian people. At the same time, it confirms its commitment to respect for human rights free from national or religious discrimination, and wishes to recall that the right of expression, opinion, freedom of information and beliefs, through media, are fundamental human rights irrespective of borders.

The Yugoslav Government also confirms that it will continue to allow, within its territory, freedom of expression, receipt and dissemination of information and free reporting of journalists coming from all countries.

UNITED
NATIONS

A S

General Assembly
Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

A/48/77
S/25231
3 February 1993

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Forty-eighth session
HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS: HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATIONS AND REPORTS OF SPECIAL RAPPORTEURS AND REPRESENTATIVES

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-eighth year

Letter dated 3 February 1993 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Yugoslavia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith the depositions of Serbian women given to the State Commission for War Crimes (see annex).

I should be grateful if you would have the present letter and its annex circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under the item entitled "Human rights questions: human rights situations and reports of special rapporteurs and representatives", and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Dragomir DJOKIC
Ambassador
Chargé d'affaires a.i.

090293

ANNEX

Depositions of Serbian women given to the State Commission for War Crimes

STATE COMMISSION
WAR AND GENOCIDE CRIMES

January 1993

DEPOSITION MADE VOLUNTARILY BY S. V. FROM KAKANJ ON 5 JANUARY 1993

I was born in 1968 at Visoko. We moved to Kakanj in 1969. There, I finished the elementary and secondary schools. I am now a student at the Faculty of Political Science.

What I would like to say, besides this case, is that never in my life have I declared myself as a Serb. I, therefore, think that all that has been happening to me has happened because I am not a Moslem but because my name is S.

The moment the refugees began to flock to Kakanj began the exodus of the entire population from Serbian villages. Now, there is no Serbian village around Kakanj. In places where no Moslem ever lived the Moslem flag is now flying.

In early August, a Serbian village 10 km from Kakanj was burned, they then went to other surrounding villages and gave the villagers a deadline to leave a day or two. So, one day, my granny's neighbour came over and drove my granny away, since she was expelled. My granny is old and sick; she has a serious heart condition. She took nothing with her.

The following day, in mid-August, I went to her house to fetch medicines and clothes. As I approached the village of Rascevina, I saw many unknown and armed people. I did not pay much attention to that. I believed that nothing could happen, although we had the information that they slaughtered two people near Kakanj in those days.

I entered my granny's house and took the things I wanted. I stayed an hour and a half in the house. Two men entered the house; they did not wear uniforms; one of them wore a camouflage blouse or jacket and as he put on the shirt I saw an emblem with blue lilies on it; the same emblem was on his hat. The other one wore a civilian green uniform. They came in and asked me who I was and what I was doing there. I told them that it was my granny's house and that I came to take her clothes. I also told them that I wanted to take her pills since she had a serious heart condition. They told me that I was not allowed to take the pills, that they would expel all Serbs, that Serbs were to blame for all the troubles, they cursed my Cetnik mother. After that, I told them: "Stay where you are, I will get the things and return to Kakanj." They told me that I was not allowed to leave the house since they needed me. I thought they were joking. I tried to talk with them, to tell them what I my convictions were. My brother was in the Patriotic League. We continued to live side by side with other nations and

/...

I tried to explain to them that we had friends in the leadership of the territorial defence. Then I told them that my family would be looking for me, that they were expecting me to come back. But it was to no avail. However, I still hoped that they would let me go. But they locked the door. They did not let me go out. They had some canned food. They told me to prepare lunch for them and I consented. While we ate, I tried to talk to them again. In the evening, around 8 p.m., there was no electricity; it was time to go to bed. One of them said: "You are going to sleep with me." I begged him, I began to scream and cry. He slapped me twice and took me to my granny's room. I begged him to let me go. He told me it was no use for me to cry. He grabbed me shoulder and pushed me onto the bed. He told me to take off my clothes. I curled up and refused to do so. He grabbed my shirt with one hand and tore off the buttons. He took off all my clothes. Then he did what he wanted to do. At one moment, he began to kiss my face, but I had long nails and scratched his face so that it began to bleed. He paid no attention to that. When he finished, he told me he would keep me there. He told me I could go and wash my face. Granny had no bathroom. They fetched water and chopped wood. I washed my face, took a bath and returned to the room; he came to the room no more. When I got up, he told me again to prepare something for them to eat. Then they went out, locked the door, closed the window shutters. I could not go out. The village is located along the railway line. On the lower part of the line, there are three houses, 400-500 metres away from each other. Some of them are very close to the forest so I could not see anything.

I began to scream. One of them came in and told me not to scream or else he would kill me and my entire family. He began to curse my Cetnik mother. One of them said: "If you want to save yourself and your family, you keep quiet." He prepared water, wood, food and then re-appeared. One of them left and did not show up for three days; the other one stayed and we had intercourse every evening. He did not beat me but he was very rude. He did not talk much, he only swore on occasions. As much as I could understand from their conversation, and they talked little and swore more often, they were fighting near Cekrcice and Visoko. They talked very little and one of them was always in the house, as one of them would go and the other would come back. This lasted until early September, 1 or 2 September.

Then, I began to bleed and I thought I had my period. One of them told me: "There, you are not pregnant, you may go".

I suppose that, in the meantime, my brother and friends were looking for me so that they found out who I was and wanted to let me go; so I came home. I did not dare say anything to my parents. I told them I was with a friend. I lied to them. They were suspicious, but that was how it ended.

After that, I met Fedzad Jasarspahic in Kakanj. He had been deputy head of territorial defence before the war. In August, he went to Germany and stayed there a few days. Then he returned. He occupied again some important post. I told him what had happened. He advised me not to talk about it since there were many problems, they slaughtered two people and a man died in the Medical Centre because they took too much blood from him.

I asked him whether I could go to the Medical Centre and he told me not to go there, that he would do something about it, that he would make a report. He asked me whether I was pregnant and I told him that I did not know. I told him that I was bleeding. He told me that most probably I was not pregnant and that everything would be all right. However, when I tried to contact him by phone he did not answer my calls and I was told that he had gone somewhere. I did not venture to go to the Medical Centre since it was rumoured that they did all sorts of things to Serbs there. I did not go out at all.

In the meantime, HOS (Croatian Armed Forces) members came over to my father asking him to let them the apartment and that they would pay the rent. They promised to take me out of Kakanj, since I confided to them what the problem was and that I wanted to solve this tragedy of mine.

Croats took out almost all Serbs from Kakanj. Only one or two hundred of them remained. One evening they said: "Get ready, we are leaving." This was on 4 December. At first, they wanted to go via Busovaca. We could not cross the Moslem-held territory. We went to Kraljeva Sutjeska. We stayed there two or three days. We came to Vares. We arrived there on 15 December, then we went to Nisic between Vares and Ilijas and then we crossed the Moslem-held territory near Nisic from where they returned. I spent the night at a friends' from Kakanj. I came to Pale. There, I saw Professor Serdar. He spoke with me, examined me and told me that I was five month pregnant and that they could not examine me properly

since they had no instruments and personnel. He recommended to me to go to Loznica, Sabac or Belgrade. I did not go that week but waited another seven days since I had no money. I came to Loznica on Monday. The Professor told me to see Dr Krstic so that I was there on Thursday. We agreed by phone after the conversation that I come to Belgrade.

Deposition recorded by
Milanka Balkovic
Senior Stenographer
Federal Assembly

Deposition made by
S. V.

/...

REPUBLIC OF SERBIA
Commissioner for Refugees

DEPOSITION MADE VOLUNTARILY BY K. M. OF MOSTAR BEFORE A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA

I was born on 25 October 1955 at Malo Polje, Mostar. I lived at Malo Polje, a village near Mostar. I worked as an accountant in the "Soko" Military Institute in Mostar. In April 1992 (on 11, 12 and 13 April to be exact) regulations on forced labour were introduced. I left for Mostar, Avenija 1, where my fiance, B. S., lived. In an attempt to keep my job, I stayed in Mostar when the war broke out. Already during the war one sensed intolerance and later also hatred towards Serbs. We spent our time in a cellar, listening to curses on account of Serbs. Food was scarce already at that time and could be bought only for Croatian dinars. Neighbours turned their heads, as if they didn't know you. After the withdrawal of our Army, their celebration began. They behaved as "real liberators". Shooting, shouting and cursing everywhere. That's when the real hatred began. They began to take away prominent Serbs and later on the less prominent ones as well. Real celebration, especially of Muslims, began when a Serbian church was hit by a shell. They went wild. The church was subsequently dynamited on several occasions and not even its foundations remained.

Workers of the "Soko" Military Institute were called on the radio to report for work. We went there, but Serbs were told publicly that there was no place for them in the "Soko". My colleague lectured me on genocide against Serbs. She approved of it and said that all Serbs should be rooted out. She was a Muslim married to a Croat. Others were of the same opinion.

On 13 July 1992, HOS members burst into my apartment. There were five of them. "Get ready, we are taking you for a talk," were the first words they spoke. My fiance, his father and I got ready and one of them drove us to the former military hospital. Two of them stayed behind to search the apartment, looking for pictures of St. Sava, as some of our neighbours said. They took our neighbour too, but the fact that his wife was paralysed, saved him.

The HOS members took all our personal documents, money and gold. What they did not find on us and found in the apartment they took away. The apartment was looted and a HOS member, Hamo Bošnjić, prison warden, moved in. Without interrogation, they took me to the prison to a small room, together with other 5-6 women prisoners. We were raped on our first night in prison. A girl was raped twice. Later they stopped it.

Amongst HOS members in Mostar I can name these men: Vinko Martinović, called Štela, who was their commander; his deputy was also Vinko Martinović, who later joined the Croatian Defence Council (HVO). Then Kapetanović, I don't know his first name, and Ivan Zelenika who was a kind of head in the HOS police interrogation department. They did not torture women as much as they tortured men. There were fights too, and all sorts of other things. Women worked all day, occasionally with Ustasha provocations.

I spent eight days in Mostar and my fiance was sent to Dretelj. We heard all sorts of stories about Dretelj. I was very frightened when I left. There were two hangars there; one with men and the other with women. Men were untidy and unshaven, since showers, hair-cutting and shaving were prohibited. Women somehow managed to maintain personal hygiene since there was a shortage of water. Men fetched water in 20-litre canisters. Each time they went for water they were beaten. For this reason women saved water as much as they could. And the worse you looked the better it was for you, since you attracted less attention. The chief commander was general (we called him so) Blaž Kraljević. He had with him a posse of 5-6 Ustashe. He visited inmates every day and was polite with them, but things went from bad to worse with every passing day. Probably on his orders, because he said once that he hated Serbs more than anything in the world.

The torture of men before the eyes of the women was terrible. From dawn to dawn, there was no difference between day and night, just beatings and all other forms of humiliation. We were not human beings. We were Serbs, as they said. Every day there were guards around us carrying guns. Let me name some of them: Hasan Topovan (Brada), Ahmet Matikan (Maks), Suzana from Zagorje, Zerina Šuta, Zvonko Bjeliš (Crvenkapa), the worst of them all, Srećko Erceg, prison commander, Toni Raić, Ilija Raić (the only man who didn't beat anyone), Marina and her sister Gordana. There were many more but I really can't remember them now. While I was at Dretelj, women were raped. To Dretelj as commander came Edip Buljubasic. The three days of his rule were dreadful. One night they raped women in our hanger. The door opened, a flashlight went from bed to bed. You didn't dare to look, but pretended to sleep. Ustashe (this time it was Hasan Topovan and Vinko Primorac) would kick a woman and say: "Get up." They would take her away and bring her back. About 15 minutes, and then again. A flashlight and a "Get up" again. It was repeated and the fear was enormous. Only the following day would we find out who it was. But quietly, so nobody would know. When Ustashe asked whether there were

any problems, you answered no, everything was all right. The next day I saw a man being killed with truncheons and shovels. His name was B.B.. His wife S. was there too. After killing her husband, they asked her whether she wanted to see her husband with blood coming out of each pore of his body. After that, provocations by prison guard Marina that she was going to bring his head to play ball with. Every night, a flashlight roams from prisoner to prisoner....You sweat from fear, covering yourself so as not to be noticed. It cannot be described.

On 17 September 1992 we were taken over by the HVO, who saved us. It was only at Grabovina that we were treated like human beings. And you could say you were a Serb. We stayed there for a month, recuperated and were then taken to Ljubuški. The accommodation was awful, we slept on a concrete floor with a blanket beneath us. We covered ourselves with our clothes. We stayed 5-6 days there, whereafter we were taken to Pakovo Selo for exchange. The exchange failed. From there they took us to "Lora" in Split for the night, then to Ljubuški and on 21 September to Mostar, to the Military High School at Radoč. Of our guards, I only know the name of Šnoda from Grabovina. He was good. In Mostar the food was very bad and the psychological pressure was enormous. For the first time we had a bed to sleep in. The commander in Mostar was Mile Pušić and his deputy was Josip, I don't know his surname. Also, commanders were Ljuke and Branko Jedvaj and Ante Bukovac was a guard, while Jasna Škaljić was responsible for women. In Mostar we were treated like prisoners-of-war. We were saved by the Red Cross on 30 October. Of all the personal belongings that I had as I left the prison were my shoes, trousers and a shirt. Not even an identity card. Everything was destroyed by HOS.

M.K. (Signed)

REPUBLIC OF SERBIA
Commissioner for Refugees

DEPOSITION MADE BY B.V., PRISONER OF THE DRETELJ CONCENTRATION CAMP

"I was born on 10 October 1937 at Klepci, Municipality of Capljina. I am a worker, Serb, resident of Capljina.

On 10 June 1992, HOS (Croatian Armed Forces) military policemen - Mirsad Repak and Mile Vego came into my apartment, while a third policeman stood guard at the door. As they entered it, they told me: "This is an apartment for a Moslem family." They told me to lie on the floor and fired from the pistol above my head. While I lied on the floor, they looted the apartment and took everything they liked. They took all my personal documents and money saying that I would need them no more. Having searched the apartment, they took me away with them; I was not allowed to take off my dressing gown and put on my street clothes, they said it was not necessary. Together with my neighbour B. B., a Serb, I was taken to the Dretelj camp.

When I arrived at Dretelj, a HOS member Zvonko Bjelis, aka. Crvenkapa (Little Rad Riding Hood), from Opuzen, took the gold I wore on me. Later on, he interrogated me and was one of my torturers. At Dretelj, they put me in a room behind bars, 3 by 2 metres, in which there already were other 3 captured women: O.D., a doctor, Serb, J. M., a teacher, Serb, A. V., a housewife, Serb. Every second day they brought in new prisoners, women and men alike. Men were separated from women; we saw them only when HOS members took them to work.

We were interrogated and physically tortured one by one. They hit me with truncheon on the legs and the body, slapped me, stuck needles under finger nails, burned my hear with candles, extinguished cigarette butts on my chest, cut my underwear with a knife to cut my breasts - these were all threats. I was tortured by Mirsad Repak, Zvonko Bjelis, Ivan Medic from Ljubuski; the names of others I do not know.

They also raped me that first night.

They interrogated me for 7-10 days; they also interrogated other women who were also raped and tortured. I have scars above the chest where they extinguished cigarette butts; bruises from truncheons are no more visible but my arms are still aching.

O. D., a doctor, was tortured much. She was born in Tasovcici and lived and worked in Capljina. She was brought to Dretelj on 5 May 1992. J. M. was brought on 15 May and A. V. 10 days before I was brought.

/...

One month after we came to Dretelj, we were transferred to hangars, women and men in two separate hangars, since they brought in new prisoners every day and there was no more space in the rooms. In the hangars, the floor was concrete and the ceiling was made of beams and plywood. We slept on the floor, there was no electricity and no water, no hygienic facilities. 70 women, aged 30 to 80, were held in this hangar.

During the first 10 days after our arrival in Dretelj, they tortured me and all other women. We were interrogated and tortured separately. I was told that I was tortured because the book the "Plight of Serbs from 1941 to 1945" and the photographs of the transfer of bones from Prebilovci were found in my apartment. Because of this, they beat me till I almost dropped dead.

After 10 days, our torturers established an order of sorts and stopped raping women. But, they continued to torture us physically and mentally.

The other hangar in which men were held was not far away so that we could hear when they beat them. They tortured them during all the time of the captivity. Whole families were held in the camp: fathers, mothers, their daughters and sons.

S. B. was with me, while her husband B. B. was in the other hangar. On 2 August 1992, they beat him with tool holders from 2 p.m. to 1 a.m. the following day when he died. In the morning, Edim Buljubasic, a former JNA officer who joined HOS, came to ask S., B. B.'s wife, whether she wanted to see her husband for last time since he had died.

Women witnessed the torture of men. Occasionally, they let us leave the hangar because of the heat so that we could see them beaten with rifle butts, truncheons, stamped upon, forced to graze and eat grass. In early-August, they brought three men to our hangar: D. R., D. R. and M. B. whom they tortured and who had bruises all over their bodies. It took them three days to recover. We, women, helped them to recover as much as we could. HOS members hid them in our hangar from other men prisoners whom they told that they had shot them.

I was in Dretelj until 17 August 1992 when we were transferred to the Grebovina military prison near Mostar. There we were taken over by HVO (Croatian Defence Council) and on 15 September we were all

transferred to the Ljubuski prison (the Ustasha nest) - the biggest stronghold of Paraga's military forces. On 19 September 1992, we were taken to Pakovo Selo to be exchanged, but the exchange fell through. We spent the night between 19 and 20 September at the Lora prison in Split, women inside the building and men standing on their feet within the prison compound. The following night we slept in Ljubuski and from Ljubuski they took us on 21 September to the Radoc prison near Mostar and stayed in that prison until 30 October when we were saved by the International Red Cross which registered us on 8 September 1992 in Grebovina. I was registered under No. (for the purpose of protecting the witness whose family members are still in detention this number is withheld). We were treated in all camps as prisoners of war, not as civilians dragged out from their homes. Through the International Committee of the Red Cross, I arrived in Zelenika on 30 October. Now, I am in the refugee camp in Baosici."

In 1941, B.V. had been in the Modric Ustashi camp near Capljina. All men who had been captured were driven out and shot at Bivolje Brdo near Capljina and thrown into pits. Her brother and father had been among them. In 1990, their bones were transferred to the memorial crypt at Prebilovci, which was dynamited by the Ustashe and turned into a garbage dumpyard. In 1944, all women and children of the village of Klepci had been captured and taken to the Capljina camp. They were to be transported to the Jasenovac concentration camp. "The Germans wanted people to exchange for their dead, so that Ustashe released us in exchange for dead Germans." B.V. had survived two camps and now the third one. Her village of Klepci, inhabited by Serbs, was razed to the ground on three occasions: in 1941, 1944 and 1992.

"While I was in Dretelj in the room behind bars, they also brought in: R. Z. (housewife), G. S. (housewife), M. P. (a Moslem married to a Serb), L. M. and S. Z. (retiree). Four of us - O. D., J. M., A. V. and I - and later on the above mentioned women, were tortured the most.

Note: The statement of B.V. is signed, but at her explicit request her name is not mentioned. She does not want this statement to be made public, since her closest relatives are still detained.

(The statement is made before a representative of the Commissioner of Refugees of the Republic of Serbia)

ASSOCIATION OF SERBS FROM
BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA
KONJIC HOMELAND CLUB
15 July 1992

HOS (CROATIAN ARMED FORCES) CRIMES AGAINST THE SERBIAN POPULATION IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA (CAPLJINA) BEFORE THE OUTBREAK OF WAR IN 1992

1. Dr O.D., born in 1958, Capljina, specialist, micro-biology, resident of Capljina.

She was arrested in her apartment by HOS members on 25 April 1992. Before her transfer to the Dretelj camp, HOS members raped her every day, several of them at a time. They forced her to walk naked and threatened her that she would not die before she gave birth to "an Ustasha". They ironed her body with a hot iron. In the Dretelj camp, besides being raped, she was also tortured (they stuck metal nails under her finger nails). She tried to commit suicide. She is the mother of three minor children. The only reason for her arrest and torture was that she was a Serb.

NOTE: O. D. is now living in Visegrad. She talked publicly about rapings on Novi Sad Television, but without going into details. She said that a 65-year old woman died in the Dretelj camp as a consequence of rapings and that a girl killed herself. She was exchanged in August 1992. Her husband says that her mental condition is very bad and that she does not want to talk about the plight she went through any more.

2. J. M., born in 1946, Prebilovci, teacher, resident of Capljina. She was arrested in her apartment and taken to a tobacco warehouse in Capljina. She was tortured and raped every day. She was forced to walk naked and was presented as a "Chetnik whore". She tried to commit suicide several times. Her physical and mental condition is very bad. She was exchanged only recently, since a list of torturers of Serb women was found on her.

NOTE: The Association of Serbs from Bosnia-Herzegovina presented these two cases to the Centre for Human Rights on 15 July within the 1503 secrecy procedure.

Please provide appropriate protection for the names.

/...

SERBIAN COUNCIL
INFORMATION CENTRE

K.S., a Serb, born on 13 May 1941 at Glamoc, made the following

DEPOSITION

In mid-May 1992 began arrests of Serbs in Bosanski Brod. Members of the Croatian military police came to Serb houses and took away Serb men and women for interrogation to the military police from where they never returned.

On 7 July 1992 at 2 p.m., Croatian MPs burst into my house and arrested me and my husband D.S. They took us to the stadium in Bosanski Brod. I was put in the ladies' room at the stadium where I found 12 Serb women, some of whom had already been there a month or two. These were S.Z. (aged about 65), M.S. (about 54) - the Croatian flag was "tattooed" on her foot since her two sons did not fight on the Croatian side - G.N. (1962), H.N., a Moslem from Kobas (about 40), R.S. (about 70) - they did not mistreat her, S.V. (about 30), S.V. (about 30), a lady by the name of Smilja from Bosanska Gradiska, I forgot her surname, who was not mistreated since she was very old. My husband was put in men's room where they had already locked up many arrested Serbs.

At night, Croatian soldiers beat men on the terraces, in the basement and in corridors, wherever they could lay their hand on them; we could hear them screaming. They were beaten by Croatian soldiers who returned from the front. During the day, they had to go to forced labour, they washed Croats' cars, dag trenches, etc.

In mid-July 1992, I do not remember the date, but fierce fighting broke out on the front then, I heard Croats kill 12 Serbs during one night. They killed them in the stadium premises, I think there were 12 of them for I heard 12 gunshots, I heard them packing them in nylon bags, starting a car and taking their bodies somewhere; when they returned, I heard a Croatian soldier say: "We sent them by the Sava River to Milosevic!". I could not sleep that night and sat on the mattress and, since a window of the room I was in faced the balcony in front of which Croatian soldiers gathered, one of them saw me and said: "She saw everything, fuck

/...

her mother". I thought they were going to kill me that night since soldiers burst into the room and one of them said: "This one is finished". However, the head of the prison came over, I do not know his name, and told them to calm down, that "everything has its limits and you will answer me for this". Then he left the room and the soldiers followed him and no one came to see us and give us food for three days after that. I do not know the names of Serbs who were killed then.

We women were raped. Djuro and Dragan Lepen "tattooed" the Croatian national emblem in M.S.'s foot; they also beat her. They incised the flag of the Republic of Croatia with the national emblem in her sole with a knife and cut her underarm. Older women who could not have intercourse with Moslems and Croats were force to perform fellatio. 10 to 15 Croats and Moslems would enter the bathroom where we used to have a shower and raped us there. H.N., a Moslem, was carried over the wall separating women's and men's rooms since they did not have the key; when they brought her back after raping her, she was exhausted and bruised from blows. They put a pistol into her mouth, forced their hands into her vagina, put a truncheon into her mouth, beat her with everything they had. 6 or 7 Croats and Moslems took their turn on each woman. Younger women were taken between 1 a.m. and 5 a.m. to Korace, Kricanovo and Sijekovac to be raped. We were raped until we fainted, then they would revive us in the toilet and returned us all covered with blood. We were afraid of the night.

When UNPROFOR representatives came, they bundled us all into automobiles and drove us to the kayak club up the Sava River where we stayed three days until the commission departed. I was driven by Nervin, a Moslem, who had raped me. I asked Indira, who took us over in the military police, where they were taking us and she told me that they were hiding us from UNPROFOR. No one saw us.

I was exchanged on 25 August 1992 in Bosanska Gradiska. On 20 August 1992, we were all driven to the "Beograd-Tulek" Department Store warehouse. There I stayed 5 days and was exchanged on the sixth. Four men and five women were exchanged in my group. Men were brought to the warehouse only at night, while during the day they had to work on the house of a Moslem whose name I do not know.

My husband was not exchanged with me. R.M., married to a Moslem, H.N., a Moslem, who was insane and whom they raped ceaselessly, and 9 men were not exchanged and were driven back to the stadium.

On the night between 31 August and 1 September 1992, according to the story of M. Dj. from Prijavor who was with my husband at that time and who told that to my sister J.M., my husband was beaten by Croats and Moslems all day. Before that, he threw his shirt all covered with blood over to R.M. who was in the ladies' room. Having beaten him, they brought him to the room all covered with blood, the walls of the room in which MPs beat him were all red from his blood and Serbs had to wash them. He was alive when they put him in bed; then an MP entered the room and hit him on the head with a bottle but my husband gave no sign of life. After half an hour, a doctor was called in and he signed that my husband had killed himself. They put him in a tin coffin and took away.

Milorad Vukovic (aged about 60) was arrested in April 1992 and found dead by the Sava River with his hands tied to the hands of another man. He was beheaded and Croats took a photo of him to his wife Borka Vukovic to Bosanski Brod to see him.

In June 1992, the military police arrested Veljko Repija (aged about 40), a Serb, in his flat and he never returned.

Many women from Bosanski Brod were raped and tortured every night, while many Serb men disappeared without a trace.

I am again in Bosanski Brod, I have found my husband's grave. Some of the women I was with in the camp have been exchanged.

Belgrade, 7 January 1993

Deposition recorded by

Ksenija Lukic

Deposition made by

K.S.

The original deposition is kept in the documentation of the Serbian Council Information Centre, file: Rape - Northern Bosnia.

SERBIAN COUNCIL
INFORMATION CENTRE

G.Ć., a Serb, (1949), of Donje Selo near Konjic, temporary accommodated at Boračko Jezero, made the following

DEPOSITION

The Serb village of Donje Selo, where I lived with my family, was attacked by Croatian and Muslim forces on 20 May 1992. On that occasion, **Rajko Ninković** (age 45) was killed. The following day, 21 May 1992, another nearby Serb village, Bjelovčina, was also attacked and Donje Selo was shelled again. On 22 May 1992 Croatian and Muslim soldiers arrested all male inhabitants of the village and a large number of women, and took them to the Čelebići detention camp, 7 km away from Donje Selo. On that day, Croatian and Muslim soldiers set fire to 9 Serb houses, my house was burned among the first since we were fairly well-off: a house of app. 600 m2 burned down, a shop, a cafe, a building material warehouse, a gazebo 50 m2 of habitable space, farmhouses.

On 25 May 1992, a pure Serb village of Bradina was attacked and razed to the ground.

I spent these few days at my brother-in-law T.Ć.'s place, because his house was not burned yet. My husband did not surrender with its other inhabitants when Donje Selo fell to the Croatian and Muslim army, but was hiding nearby. On 27 May 1992, Ševko Nikšić, a police commander at Konjic (who had been my husband's boss), Jasmin Guska, head of the police station, Zvonimir Bešla "Nono", former commander of the police station, Ibrahim Djuro, a player of the "Sarajevo" football team and some others whom I knew by sight, but I don't know their names, came to my brother-in-law's house. They burned another 4 Serb houses: my summerhouse, the house of my brother-in-law M.Ć, of O.Ć. and T.Ć. That day, 27 May 1992, Sadik Teletović, a Muslim of Konjic, killed my brother-in-law M.Ć. (1937), after he had forced him to show the cave where we would hide when armies would come.

I was arrested then together with my brother-in-law T.Ć. We were taken to the Čelebići detention camp, to former JNA barracks which the army abandoned. At the camp, I was sent to Azem Delić, a Muslim of Konjic, who was deputy camp commander. He started questioning me where my husband was and since I didn't know he started to beat me, threatening

/...

to send me to Grude, to a Croatian detention camp for Serbs. He took me then to another room with 5 beds. We were accompanied by another Muslim from Džajić and by a Ćosić of the village of Ibar near Čelebići. Azem Delić told Ćosić to stand at the door; Džajić was lying in bed, while Azem started to take my clothes off. I thought he was going to beat me with the rod, but he raped me, he was the first to do it, and then they left. I was alone there, but soon an Albanian called "Šok" arrived; he was doing his military service in the JNA there and when the JNA withdrew he decided to stay. He also wanted to rape me. I resisted and cried, so he finally apologized and left. That night they left me alone.

I spent another night there, alone, and they didn't touch me. The third night, however, they took me to the guardhouse, in the reception room. I don't remember what time it was, but I know that many of them came in. They ordered me to undress and raped me. It was dark so I couldn't recognize any of the young men. Three of them raped me, the fourth one didn't. The fourth night they brought young Serb women from Bradina and began to take them around and rape them. While they were there, they didn't touch me.

After 22 days in the camp, they brought in M.A., a Serb girl from Ibar, and another older woman called "Kalemuša". That very night Azem Delić raped M.A. who was a virgin. She came back afterwards and said: "Oh, Lord, fuck you wherever you are". She didn't stop crying for 24 hours. Women of Bradina were released two days upon her arrival, while M.A., "Kalemuša" and I stayed. After 4 nights in the camp, "Kalemuša" was released, while the two of us remained.

After two months in the camp they came over again and told me to get out. I said I couldn't because I had a stomach ache; but Azem Delić came in and said get out or "I'll fuck your mother's face". So I had to get out; a car turned towards a military hangar 200 metres in front of me and he told "Šok", the Albanian, to take me up the hill. I cried bitterly, begging him to turn back or to stop, but he feared they would kill us. We approached the hangar with the lights on; 3 Muslim soldiers were there. The light went off and a civilian, Nurko, who was repairing arms, came to me, led me to the hangar and raped me.

On 15 June 1992, 13 Serbs from Donje Selo were killed by a shell in the sports hall at Konjic where they had been detained: **Velimir Ćećez** (1952), **Vlado Ćećez** (1950), **Miloš Ćećez** (1950), **Dušan Ćećez** (1952), **Pero Ćećez** (1964), **Mirko Ćećez** (1952 or 1953), **Predrag Kuljanin** (1965 or 1966), **Tihomir Kuljanin** (1959), **Rade Ninković** (I think he was born in 1949, but I am not sure), **Mirko Ninković** (1963), **Stevo Ninković** (app. 1968), **Novica Živak** (1966 or 1967), **Željko Ćećez** (1966) who was killed at Čelebići, but were not buried in the cemetery, but around houses. The Muslims from Prevalj, a Muslim village, shelled the hall. I told him all this, I cried, but Nurko raped me all the same. Then he drove me back to the room and they didn't rape me any more. M.A. was taken away several times by Azem Delić, who kept her for himself and didn't let anybody else touch her.

In July 1992, the Muslims brought 5 women from Žukići to the camp and among them was a girl aged 13, whom Delić had tried to rape, but was prevented by Pavo Mucić, the prison commander, who came from Konjic to save her. The women were beaten severely, even the girl was beaten by truncheons and kicked all over. The following morning, Pavo appeared at the door to ask how they were, and they did not know why they were beaten. He asked the girl: "Were you afraid, dear?" and she answered: "Of course I was". They were released on his intercession, he himself drove them away: he took the girl to Konjic to her relatives, while the women were killed. They were killed by a Muslim, Redžo Balić, of Bale near Bradina: **Sofija Djordjić** (aged app. 65), **Andja Djordjić** (aged 45), **Mara** (an elderly woman) and **Jelenko Djordjić** (aged app. 47). His two sons remained in the camp. I would like to point out that people from Zukići were not armed. I heard that from M.A. and also from the Muslim guard.

During my stay in the camp I watched the Serbs who were tortured by the Muslims. I watched the "Devetka" tunnel at Bradina, I watched the Muslims take the Serbs out, line them against the wall where they had to stand for hours with their hands up, they sat for hours in cold rain, soaking wet, and they were forced to sing and learn the Koran. Those who didn't know the Koran were beaten. I watched them beat and kill **Slavko Šušić** (aged 40), a teacher. Delić was beating him on the back with a stick until he was almost dead and fell on the road, while Delić continued

to kick him. They accused him of having a radio station which he didn't have, but he was guilty of being a prominent Serb. 17 Serbs died from beatings, as far as I know, they were: **Pero Mrkajić** (aged 60) of Bradina, **Simo Jovanović** of Ibar (aged 50), **Čedo Avramović** (born in 1949), a teacher, and a few Serbs of Bjelovčina, a few of Bradina whose names I don't know, but I knew them by sight.

Representatives of the ICRC came to the Čelebići detention camp several times, but they always hid us women from them. I don't know whether they hid men too. We were not allowed to go out or to appear at the window, but I saw it was the ICRC when they were leaving. Once I addressed them, and it was only then that they heard about us and they registered my name and M.A. as well. Shortly after this we were released on 31 August 1992.

After the visits by the ICRC representatives, men were beaten to death because they spoke of their torture by the Muslims. They strewed **Nedeljko Draganić's** legs with gunpowder, a Serb (aged 17), set him on fire and pressed a hot knife against his body, so that it was full of scars, but he was eventually released. They put a red-hot knife on the body of **Spasa Miljević**, a Serb of Konjic, and scorched him; **Dušan**, a Serb taxi driver from Bjelovčani, was also scorched with a knife; some like **Branko Gotovac** (1937), of Vinište, for example, got hernia of hard labour. I saw all this because I was near the camp. Srdja, a Serb of Bradina, had his arm broken; Sava Djordjić had his left ear cut off; Nedjo Kuljanin had his little finger cut off, etc. I watched Serbs walking on crutches, with bandaged arms and heads, exhausted and massacred. Whenever a car came over to pick up a killed Serb, Muslims would say that he died of diabetes, from hunger-strike, of heart attack. They said Žarko Mrkajić was strangled by Slavko Šušić, though I saw that Azem Delić killed him.

My husband was hiding at Donje Selo, but during my stay in the Muslim camp, I knew nothing about him. When I returned to the village on 31 August 1992, my brother-in-law told me that my son had left for the Serb territory on 30 August 1992. I was surprised to see my brother-in-law there, but he told me that my husband had left a week before and that our son went along with him. My brother-in-law's children were hiding around the house and on 29 September 1992 they set for the Serb territory along the

Neretva river, towards the village of Bijela. On 22/23 August 1992, my husband was killed as he stepped on a land mine. Our son managed to reach the Serb territory. My brother-in-law's children were killed on 2/3 September 1992. We heard of their death only on 5 September 1992. A Muslim, Jasna Džumur, president of the State Commission for Prisoners at Konjic came to me accompanied by four Muslim soldiers, asking me to join them and identify the corpses. I didn't want to, but they forced me. My brother-in-law's children R.Ć.(1964) and R.Ć. (1965) were recognizable; but my husband's corpse was disfigured. It was black, but they had taken out everything they could from the head: the eyes, the ears, the brains, everything. I hardly recognized him. On Monday, 7 September 1992, they allowed us to bury the brother-in-law's children. My husband's corpse was given to me only on 18 September 1992, thanks to a Croat, Zdenko Šagolj "Pisak", who said they had to release the body for the sake of humanity. We buried him near the brother-in-law's house.

Somehow, I managed to flee the Muslim territory, so the children and I are now in the Serb-held territory. We lost everything, but we have to live on. My only hope are the children.

Belgrade, 7 January 1993

DEPOSITION TAKEN BY:
Ksenija Lukić (Sgd.)

DEPOSITION MADE BY:
G.Ć. (Sgd.)

The original deposition is kept in the files of the Serb Council Information Centre: Rape - Herzegovina.

/...

SERBIAN COUNCIL
INFORMATION CENTRE

O.G., born in Vukovar on 20 October 1940, from Vukovar, made, on 20 February 1992 in Belgrade the following

DEPOSITION

I was seriously wounded by a grenade in my house in Vukovar on 23 October 1991 and was transferred to the Vukovar Hospital. My husband V.G. was also in the Hospital with me. I was hospitalized for about eight days. While I was there, my bed was in the corridor of the Internal Medicine Ward. Since both I and my husband had been employed in the Hospital for a long time, we knew all its staff. The conduct of the medical staff towards me as a patient with serious wounds was extremely bad. Surgeons hardly bothered to bandage my wounds. I found T.J. and his wife V. in the Hospital. They were our neighbours and we knew them well. T. was seriously wounded; his right leg was amputated below his knee. V. confided in me that some wounded Serbs from the Hospital who were to be discharged disappeared overnight. She mentioned no names, but since her husband T. was in the Hospital basement she went to see him and knew it. Members of the Croatian National Guard armed with rifles kept coming to the Hospital. Whenever they came, they saluted Dr Vesna Bosanac and Dr Juro Njavro with two raised fingers. On 30 October 1991 in the evening, the head nurse Binazija Kolesar, aka "Biba", told me that I had to leave the Hospital and that I would be transferred to the "Komerc" shelter at the "Borovo" combine. I was a patient with serious wounds on the head, the back and the spine - and was surprised that they forced me to go there. I begged them to keep me in the Hospital until the following day. Dr Jagetic came and I asked to be transferred to the basement where my husband was, but he told me that it was not possible. He went to see Dr Vesna Bosanac, came back and told me that both I and my husband V. were to be transferred to the "Komerc" shelter in the morning.

Next morning, about seven of us were transferred to the "Komerc" shelter: I, my husband V., T.J. and his wife V., V.V. and two women, most of them Serbs.

When we came to "Komerc", its commander was a man called "Brko", a dark man, who was there only two days and then disappeared. He

took our names. He was with a man called "Gagi" who was about 30 years of age, brown-skinned, his hair was cut short, he wore an earring in one ear and had three lines shaved along both sides of the head above the ears. He had a gun and wore a camouflage uniform. In that shelter, there were many ZNG (Croatian National Guard) members, mostly wounded, two or three women in uniforms and about 30 Serb men and women, most of them wounded. We had to keep mum. We were not allowed to say a word. "Gagi" yelled at us, while he treated others nicely.

Martin Sablic was also in the shelter; he came two days after our transfer. "Gagi" convened a meeting and told us that there would be some changes and that from that moment on Martin Sablic would be the commander in charge of civilians and he, "Gagi", would be the commander of the ZNG.

Bartul Domazet was also at the "Komerc"; he had come from the Hospital. He was wounded. Once, he yelled at T.J. and said that Cetnik nests were being created there and that Cetniks were taking the places of the combatants who should be treated there instead. T. kept silent, without a word.

Occasionally Lalosav Bosanac, Dr Vesna Bosanac's husband, came to the shelter. He was the commander of the entire "Borovo" combine and all were subordinated to him, including Martin Sablic. Beside them, Arvaj Karcika made himself very busy, too, in the shelter: he ran errands for Martin and "Gagi", always driving things and people to and fro.

On 4 November 1991, Sinisa Vlaisavljevic, a youth from Preradoviceva ulica in Vukovar, whose father was a butcher, was taken out from the "Komerc" shelter. Sinisa had been wounded, had been in the Hospital and was a Serb. "Gagi" came for him and they drove him away somewhere; he never returned and I do not know what happened to him.

On 5 November 1991, "Gagi" came with two ZNG MPs and asked for T.; they asked him where his son was. He told them that his son was in Osijek, that he had a job there. "Gagi" told him that he would show him a film so that he would see where his son was, adding that he was taking the place of the guards. After that, "Gagi" and the two guards left. T. said he had a premonition, that something was going to happen that night, that he was going to go that night, that he would not survive. We all cried since we all slept in the same room.

On 5 November 1991, "Gagi" came over and asked where my husband V. was. When he found him he told him to come with him; V. left with him and another man was immediately brought to his bed. I begged him to tell me where my husband was and he told me he did not know. Since I cried and asked for my husband, Dr Kuzmanovic whispered to me that he was in the Vukovar prison together with V.V. and another man who was taken away from the shelter on that day, more precisely night; so, all three of them were taken away from the shelter.

We were not allowed to talk to each other, we were under constant surveillance; the Croats whom we knew well avoided us, gave us a wide berth.

On 6 November 1991, T.J. was taken away from the "Komerc" shelter; "Gagi" came for him and took him away. T.J. went on crutches. All the time while men were taken away, Martin Sablic was in the shelter and knew what was going on. However, he did not appear when these men were taken away, only "Gagi" came. T.J. never returned and we did not know what happened to him. It was said for "Gagi" that he was from Sinj and that he lived somewhere in Jarvina or at a nearby village.

After T.J. was taken away, I and V. were alone. On 7 November 1991 in the morning, Ana Lukic came to the "Komerc" shelter. She was a colleague of mine and a family friend. She and her husband Bogdan worked in the Hospital. She told me that she came during the night around 2 a.m., that she had had to flee from the basement where she had hid for a month since she had been raped on that night by a guardsman who kept on coming to the basement on several previous nights threatening to kill her. She told me that she had begged him not to do that saying that she could be his mother and that he replied that he could not care less and had raped her. So, she ran away from the basement and came to the "Komerc" shelter. There, she was interrogated by a Bozo, from the military police, a blondine (she was in charge of all lists) and Arvaj Karcika. She confided to them that she had been raped since they thought she was a spy. They told her that she had to report to Martin Sablic and she did so in the morning. She knew Sablic well since they were neighbours. She was afraid of Martin very much and kept on telling me that he would kill her.

On 7 November 1991 in the evening, we were transferred from the "Komerc" to the "Nova Obucara" shelter. Martin Sablic also came to the

new shelter as its commander. Bartul Domazet also came over and the two of them were in charge and decided everything in the shelter. They were joined by a guardsman called "Siptar" who was always armed: he had a knife, an axe, bombs, a rifle. He wore a black pointed hat and a black jacket. He kept on yelling around the shelter "a bullet in the head, a bullet in the head". Martin constantly toured the shelter, just watching and without saying a word. I, V. and Ana were in a compartment, close to each other, and were not allowed to go anywhere. The guard in the shelter was Franjo Bauer and his wife Violeta who made some lists and distributed food. Stipo Kovacevic from Bogdanovci, who tortured us, was also there. Sablic and Bartol had guns. On 16 or 17 November 1991 between 8 p.m. and 9 p.m., Martin Sablic, Bartol Domazet, "Siptar", Stipo Kovacevic and Franjo Bauer and two ZNG MPs came to our compartment. Sablic said that our compartment would be searched, they were looking for arms or knives. He turned to the three of us, pointed at each one of us and ordered a thorough search.

We were searched by Franjo Bauer, Domazet, "Siptar", Kovacevic and two MPs. They searched us three times and each time Martin ordered them to search us again. When they found nothing, Martin said: "Now, I will search". Martin searched Ana himself. He searched her thoroughly, sat and watched her cynically. Ana was afraid. My and V.'s things were not searched so thoroughly. As he searched Ana, Martin found four soldier's books (belonging to her husband and sons), two passports and two or three savings books. When he found all this, he asked her where her husband and sons were; he told her that her husband was shooting at them. Ana told him that they were all in Subotica. He saw from the savings book that the money had been withdrawn about a month before. Since the book was in her husband's name, he accused her of hiding him, that the book was an evidence. She told him that she herself had withdrawn the money and he asked her where her authorization was; she told him she did not have one since she knew a teller in the bank who gave her the money. He did not believe her. He told her that they suspected that she wanted to run away. Bauer added that she should be ashamed of keeping the soldier's books, that he himself was ashamed that he had been a soldier and he had burned his own soldier's book. All the time during the search, "Siptar" stood next to

Martin and watched. Bartul would come and go, watching the search. Then, Sablic looked at "Siptar" asking him: "Did you take away the goods?" "Siptar" answered: "Yes, everything is OK". Sablic watched Ana cynically and said: "There will be more".

I was interrogated by Sablic who asked me where my husband was, whether I was from a prominent Vukovar family, he told me he knew where my husband worked.

When the guardsman found her husband's passport, her passport and a photo of her son in military uniform on V. they said: "Good God, this is T.J.'s wife!" Martin inspected them. He gave soldier's books and passports to MPs telling them that they belonged to them. He turned to V. and Ana and told them: "You and you, pack your things", pointing his finger at Ana and V. He ordered me to go to bed. I was all bandaged, my head was all bandaged, too. Then, "Siptar" took Ana and V. towards the exit in the corridor. After some time, I asked a woman to go and see where they were. She told me they were sitting at the shelter door. **After one hour and a half, "Siptar" brought back Ana and V. to our compartment, but he kept a close eye on them all along. Then firemen came to the entrance door to fill the water reservoir; when they finished their work, "Siptar" signalled with his head to Ana and V. to get up and come with him. They left and never returned. I saw Ana and V. never again. They took their personal belongings with them.**

Immediately before the surrender, a young blonde went from compartment to compartment for two successive evenings and read lists of people. She read out the names of people and said that if some of the roll-called did not get out into the corridor they would be immediately killed including those who knew them and did not report them. One evening, they read out a list of 15 people and took them away from the shelter. Among others, there were the names of Uros Neducic of Lusac, an Ostojic; I concluded they were all Serbs by their names and surnames. The following evening, they read out six or seven names and took the people away from the shelter. Part of a group was taken to the dining room, it appeared to be a large group, where they were interrogated. I did not venture to go out, no one was allowed to leave the compartments, so I did not see who they were. I knew their names then, but I cannot remember them now. One evening

before the surrender, Martin Sablic and Bartul came and demanded that all should give their HDZ insignia, membership cards and all other emblems. They pulled down the Croatian flag at the entrance and filled a bag with insignia and documents. They took it all with them. After 10 minutes, all who wore uniforms changed into civilian clothes, mostly into blue workers' overalls.

Among the people I saw in the shelter was also Jure Marusic whom I knew as a blood donor. He had always been messing around the shelter yelling, always in touch with Sablic, in and out from his compartment where they met. An armed young plump woman with guardsmen used also to come to Sablic's compartment; they were looking for people to take away to the front. I do not know whom they led away, I was not allowed to leave my compartment, but they always did that hurriedly and in a great panic. Once someone fired a shot in the corridor as they picked up the people. I don't know who fired.

O.G. (Signed)

Note: Ana Lukic was killed (confirmed by her husband).

Documentation in the Serbian Council Information Centre, file: Vukovar.

UNITED
NATIONS

S

Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/25232
3 February 1993

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

LETTER DATED 1 FEBRUARY 1993 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

Upon instructions from my Government, I have the honour to bring to your attention the following instances of violations by Iraq of the terms of the cease-fire between the two countries.

1. On 23 July 1992, at 1830 hours, three Iraqi forces were observed transferring a mortar and some ammunition from the geographic coordinates of 575-381 to the geographic coordinates of 581-381 on the map of Sumar in no man's land, south of border pillar 40/5.

2. On 23 July 1992, 15 Iraqi vehicles were observed trafficking at the geographic coordinates of 06-53 and 98-51 on the map of Marivan in no man's land, west of border pillar 95/5 and north of border pillar 95.

3. On 24 July 1992, at 1200 hours, a number of Iraqi forces were observed constructing a bunker at the geographic coordinates of 682-241 on the map of Kani-Sheikh in no man's land, west of border pillar 39/1.

4. On 24 July 1992, Iraqi forces stationed at the geographic coordinates of 582-382 on the map of Sumar fired six klashnicov bullets towards an Iranian base at the geographic coordinates of 588-384 on the map of Sumar, south-east of border pillar 40/5.

5. On 24 July 1992, a white vehicle picked up 12 Iraqi soldiers at the geographic coordinates of 010-920 on the map of Meimeh, south of border pillar 24.2 and left the area.

6. On 24 July 1992, 31 Iraqi vehicles were observed trafficking at the geographic coordinates of 96-53 and 98-51 on the map of Marivan in no man's land, north of border pillars 94.6 and 95.

7. On 26 July 1992, eight Iraqi forces were observed trafficking and conducting observation at the geographic coordinates of 348-746 on the map of Nahr-Anbar and Ainkhosh, west of border pillar 22/23.

8. On 27 July 1992, seven Iraqi forces were observed firing an RPG7 shell at the geographic coordinates of 539-255 on the map of Ghasr-e-Shirin in no man's land which fell into the Ghoreh-Tou river.

9. On 27 July 1992, seven Iraqi forces were observed deploying a heavy-weapon gnomon at the geographic coordinates of 532-447 on the map of Sumar in no man's land, north-west of border pillar 44/2.

10. On 28 July 1992, from 0830 to 1200 hours, six Iraqi soldiers were observed clearing up positions and trenches at the geographic coordinates of 532-447 on the map of Sumar in no man's land, north-west of border pillar 44/2.

11. On 28 July 1992, from 0945 to 2000 hours, an Iraqi crane was seen in operation at the geographic coordinates of 378-608 on the map of Naft-Shahr in no man's land, around border pillar 46.

12. On 28 July 1992, at 1010 hours, an Iraqi vehicle carrying 12 passengers was observed moving towards the geographic coordinates of 423-666 on the map of Naft-Shahr, north-west of Iraq's Chalaie sentry post.

13. On 29 July 1992, at 0800 hours, an Iraqi soldier was seen conducting observation at the geographic coordinates of 348-736 on the map of Nahr-Anbar and Ainkhosh, south of border pillar 22/23.

14. On 29 July 1992, 11 Iraqi vehicles were observed trafficking at the geographic coordinates of 96-52 and 98-51 on the map of Marivan in no man's land, north and east of Mar and border pillars 94/6 and 95.

15. On 29 July 1992, two Iraqi forces were seen conducting observation at the geographic coordinates of 348-736 on the map of Nahr-Anbar and Ainkhosh, south of border pillar 22/22.

16. On 29 July 1992, at 1600 hours, four Iraqi forces aboard two Iraqi vehicles with two wireless sets paid an hour-long visit to the Saddam sentry post located in Yebis, south of border pillar 22/7.

17. On 29 July 1992, at 1000 hours, three Iraqi forces aboard a white jeep were observed visiting a sentry post at the geographic coordinates of 45-99 on the map of Khosravi, south and west of border pillars 51 and 52.

18. On 30 July 1992, 21 Iraqi vehicles were observed trafficking at the geographic coordinates of 98-51 on the map of Marivan in no man's land, north of border pillar 95.

19. On 31 July 1992, at 0930 hours, three Iraqi forces, two of whom were clad in civilian clothes, were observed surveying the area at the geographic coordinates of 527-970 on the map of Kharatha in no man's land, around border pillar 48.

20. On 31 July 1992, at 1900 hours, four Iraqi foces were seen conducting observation at the geographic coordinates of 601-322 on the map of Kani-Sheikh in no man's land, south-west of border pillars 40 and 40/8.

21. On 31 July 1992, Iraqi forces stationed at the geographic coordinates of 416-988 on the map of Khosravi dissembled their tents and deployed a 23-mm anti-aircraft cannon south-west of border pillar 51, east of Iraq's Molla-Aziz village.

22. On 2 August 1992, two Iraqi forces aboard a jeep were observed surveying the area at the geographic coordinates of 032-674 on the map of Mehran in no man's land.

23. On 2 August 1992, Iraqi forces began firing illuminating bullets into the air at the geographic coordinates Of 708-220 on the map of Halaleh, west of border pillar 39.

24. On 2 August 1992, 10 Iraqi soldiers were observed installing barbed wire and planting mines at the geographic coordinates of 402-574 on the map of Yebis in no man's land, west and south of border pillars 22/8 and 22/9.

25. On 2 August 1992, 17 Iraqi vehicles were observed trafficking at the geographic coordinates of 98-51 on the map of Marivan, north of border pillar 95 in no man's land and at the geographic coordinates of 96-53 on the map of Marivan around border pillar 94/6.

26. On 4 August 1992, at 1125 hours, an Iraqi crane was observed relocating an unknown object at the geographic coordinates Of 40/57 on the map of Yebis in no man's land, south of border pillar 22/7A, 22/8 and 22/9.

27. On 4 August 1992, at 0700 hours, 15 Iraqi forces were observed constructing a bunker at the geographic coordinates of 098-724 on the map of Mehran.

28. On 4 August 1992, at 1640 hours, 13 Iraqi forces were observed constructing a group bunker at the geographic coordinates of 098-724 on the map of Mehran.

29. On 5 August 1992, an Iraqi vehicle carrying 50 Iraqi soldiers was observed at the geographic coordinates of 515-864 on the map of Seizdeh, south-west of border pillar 46/9.

30. On 5 August 1992, four Iraqi soldiers equipped with two RPG7s were stationed at the geographic coordinates of 594-333 and 603-322 on the map of Kani-Sheikh, in the territory of the Islamic Republic of Iran, around border pillars 40 and 40/1.

31. On 6 August 1992, at 1250 hours, three Iraqi forces aboard a Toyota visited the area at the geographic coordinates of 433-037 on the map of Khosravi in no man's land, around border pillar 53/2 for half an hour.

32. On 7 August 1992, from 0900 to 1100 hours, two Iraqi forces were observed constructing an individual bunker at the geographic coordinates of 400-123 on the map of Khosravi, in no man's land, west of border pillar 56/1.

33. On 7 August 1992, at 0955 hours, an Iraqi Toyota vehicle was observed moving from geographic coordinates of 355-430 around border pillar 25/1 to the geographic coordinates of 353-435 on the map of Kuh-tunnel in no man's land, south of border pillar 25/1. After disembarking 10 of its passengers, it continued its tour towards Iraq's Baksayeh village and left the area.

34. On 8 August 1992, 33 Iraqi vehicles were observed trafficking at the geographic coordinates of 96-53 and 98-51 on the map of Marivan, in no man's land around border pillar 94/6 and 95.

35. On 9 August 1992, Iraqi forces reinforced their forces by deploying six soldiers and an anti-tank (SPG9) at the geographic coordinates of 630-3322 on the map of Kani-Sheikh in no man's land, south of border pillar 40.

36. On 9 August 1992, it was realized that Iraqi forces had recently planted mines on an abandoned road, 25 metres wide and 30 metres long, at the geographic coordinates of 402-570 on the map of Yebis in no man's land, west of border pillar 22/8 and south of border pillar 22/9.

37. On 10 August 1992, from 0800 to 1545 hours, 30 Iraqi officers and several reporters aboard 12 vehicles entered Iraq's Manzarieh Customs. They left for Khaneghein after visiting the area.

38. On 10 August 1992, at 0830 hours, three Iraqi commanders escorted by four guards visited the area at the geographic coordinates of 400-132, 403-137 and 414-102 on the map of Khosravi in no man's land, around border pillars 55, 55/1 and 56/1.

39. On 10 August 1992, 17 Iraqi vehicles were observed trafficking at the geographic coordinates of 96-53 and 98-51 on the map of Marivan in no man's land, around border pillars 94/6 and 95.

40. On 12 August 1992, at 1930 hours, nine Iraqi forces entered the area at the geographic coordinates of 098-726 on the map of Mehran, around border pillar 33 in no man's land and began constructing a bunker.

41. On 12 August 1992, at 0840 hours, two Iraqi forces were observed disembarking ammunition at the geographic coordinates of 40-57 on the map of Yebis in no man's land, west and south of border pillars 22/8 and 22/9.

42. On 12 August 1992, at 0940 hours, five Iraqi forces were observed at the geographic coordinates of 11-73 on the map of Mehran, around border pillar 23/3.

43. On 12 August 1992, at 1900 hours, Iraqi forces were observed restoring and constructing bunkers at the geographic coordinates of 10-71 on the map of Mehran in no man's land, south of border pillar 33.

44. On 13 August 1992, from 0900 to 1615 hours, 12 Iraqi forces were observed restoring a bunker at the geographic coordinates of 117-732 on the map of Mehran in no man's land, around border pillar 32/3.

45. On 14 August 1992, at 1050 hours, 10 Iraqi jeeps were observed trafficking at the geographic coordinates of 06-68 and 10-72 on the map of Mehran in no man's land, south of border pillar 33.

46. On 14 August 1992, 37 Iraqi vehicles - light and heavy - were observed trafficking at the geographic coordinates of 96-53 and 98-51 on the map of Marivan in no man's land, north of border pillars 94/6 and 95.

47. On 15 August 1992, at 0900 hours, 12 Iraqi forces were observed digging a trench at the geographic coordinates of 353-425 on the map of Kuh-tunnel, south of border pillar 25/11. They returned to the geographic coordinates of 353-435 on the map of Kuh-tunnel in no man's land, west of border pillar 25/10 at 1200 hours.

48. On 15 August 1992, 38 Iraqi vehicles were observed trafficking at the geographic coordinates of 98-51 and 98-53 on the map of Marivan in no man's land, north of border pillar 95.

49. On 16 August 1992, at 0830 hours, an Iraqi soldier clad in grey clothing was observed deploying and operating an automatic machine-gun on Chalai sentry post at the geographic coordinates of 431-655 on the map of Naft-Shahr in no man's land.

50. On 16 August 1992, 31 Iraqi vehicles were observed trafficking at the geographic coordinates of 96-53 and 98-51 on the map of Marivan in no man's land, north of border pillars 94/6 and 95.

51. On 16 August 1992, Iraqi forces were deployed at the geographic coordinates of 975-659 on the map of Mehran, around border pillars 30/1 and 31 in no man's land in Arafat sentry post, which was previously deserted. A permanent base was also established by Iraqi forces.

52. On 17 August 1992, at 0900 hours, 11 Iraqi soldiers were observed constructing positions at the geographic coordinates of 353-435 on the map of Kuh-tunnel in no man's land, south of border pillar 25/11 and west of border pillar 25/10.

53. On 17 August 1992, at 1540 hours, 15 Iraqi forces were observed at the geographic coordinates of 91-87 on the map of Sepiarz in no man's land, around border pillar 124/A.

54. On 17 August 1992, at 1930 hours, six Iraqi forces erected communal tents at the geographic coordinates of 427-044 on the map of Khosravi in no man's land, south of border pillar 53/2.

55. On 17 August 1992, 29 Iraqi vehicles were observed trafficking at the geographic coordinates of 96-53 and 98-51 on the map of Marivan in no man's land, north of border pillars 94/6 and 95.

56. On 17 August 1992, 250 Iraqi forces along with 350 domestic animals were observed moving from the geographic coordinates of 99-50 on the map of Marivan in the territory of the Islamic Republic of Iran, west and south of border pillars 95/1 and 95/2 towards the geographic coordinates of 98-51 on the map of Marivan in no man's land, north of border pillar 95.

57. On 18 August 1992, at 0730 hours, eight Iraqi forces along with a Toyota vehicles were observed disassembling bunker equipment at the geographic coordinates of 672-230 on the map of Ghasr-e-Shirin in no man's land, south and south-west of border pillars 60/1 and 60/2.

58. On 18 August 1992, 12 Iraqi forces moved from the geographic coordinates of 333-435 and stationed at the geographic coordinates of 353-435 on the map of Kuh-tunnel, in no man's land, south and west of border pillars 25/10 and 25/11.

59. On 18 August 1992, 30 Iraqi vehicles were observed trafficking at the geographic coordinates of 96-53 and 98-51 on the map of Marivan in no man's land, north of border pillars 94/6 and 95.

60. On 19 August 1992, at 0930 hours, a mine planted by Iraqi forces exploded at the geographic coordinates of 59-33 on the map of Kani-Sheikh, south of border pillar 40/1.

61. On 20 August 1992, 29 Iraqi vehicles were observed trafficking at the geographic coordinates of 96-53 and 98-51 on the map of Marivan in no man's land, north of border pillars 94/6 and 95.

62. On 19 August 1992, at 0700 hours, five Iraqi forces constructed a Dush-K position and deployed an automatic machine-gun in it at the geographic coordinates of 11-73 on the map of Mehran in no man's land, around border pillar 32/3.

63. On 19 August 1992, from 1730 to 1930 hours, 11 Iraqi forces were observed restoring bunkers and trenches at the geographic coordinates of 428-038 on the map of Khosravi, south of border pillar 53/2 and at the geographic coordinates of 432-031 on the map of Khosravi in no man's land, north-west of border pillar 53/1.

64. On 19 August 1992, at 2245 hours, 15 Iraqi forces entered a newly built base at the geographic coordinates of 353-435 on the map of Kuh-tunnel in no man's land, south of border pillar 25/11.

65. On 20 August 1992, 76 Iraqi vehicles were observed trafficking at the geographic coordinates of 96-53 and 98-51 on the map of Marivan in no man's land, north of border pillars 94/6 and 95.

66. On 21 August 1992, at 0825 hours, seven Iraqi forces aboard a vehicle moved from the geographic coordinates of 5510-4435 on the map of Yebis in no man's land, west of border pillar 22/11 and deployed a 106-mm gun at the geographic coordinates of 560-410 on the map of North Hour-Al-Hoveizeh in no man's land, around border pillar 21/5.

67. On 21 August 1992, at 0830 hours, 10 Iraqi forces aboard 6 IFA vehicles moved from the geographic coordinates of 352-041 on the map of Khosravi and were stationed at the geographic coordinates of 391-128, west of border pillar 56/1, and at the geographic coordinates of 404-135 on the map of Khosravi in no man's land, north of border pillar 56/1 and south of border pillar 57.

68. On 21 August 1992, at 1200 hours, six Iraqi soldiers were seen conducting observation at the geographic coordinates of 300-810 on the map of Nahr-Anbar in no man's land, west of border pillar 22/30.

69. On 21 August 1992, at 1830 hours, 20 Iraqi forces aboard 6 IFA vehicles moved from the geographic coordinates of 352-041 and were stationed at the geographic coordinates of 391-128 on the map of Khosravi, west of border pillar 56/1, and at the geographic coordinates of 404-135 on the map of Khosravi in no man's land, north of border pillar 56/1 and south of border pillar 57.

70. On 21 August 1992, 22 Iraqi vehicles were observed trafficking at the geographic coordinates of 96-53 and 98-51 on the map of Marivan in no man's land, north of border pillars 94/6 and 95.

71. On 22 August 1992, at 2400 hours, Iraqi forces stationed in Arafat base at the geographic coordinates of 970-650 on the map of Marivan in no man's land between border pillars 30/1 and 31, began firing at Iranian forces. At the same time, a number of Iraqi vehicles moved from Zarbatieh to Taan sentry post.

72. On 24 August 1992, at 0950 hours, 20 Iraqi forces and an IFA vehicle were deployed at the geographic coordinates of 352-044 on the map of Khosravi in no man's land, around border pillar 56/1 and south-west of border pillar 57.

73. On 27 August 1992, at 0950 hours, 20 Iraqi forces and an IFA vehicle were deployed at the geographic coordinates of 352-044 on the map of Khosravi in no man's land, around border pillar 56/1 and south-west of border pillar 57.

74. On 25 August 1992, at 1100 hours, seven Iraqi forces were observed deploying an SPG9 at the geographic coordinates of 572-383 on the map of Sumar, south-west of border pillar 40/5.

75. On 27 August 1992, at 0900 hours, five Iraqi forces were observed patrolling at the geographic coordinates of 909-C18 on the map of Kuh-Tappeh in no man's land, south of border pillar 24/14.

76. On 28 August 1992, at 1040 hours, 4 Iraqi officers and 14 armed soldiers moved from Khaneghein to the geographic coordinates of 428-035 on the map of Khosravi in no man's land, south-west of border pillar 53/2. They returned after surveying the area for 20 minutes.

77. On 29 August 1992, 30 Iraqi vehicles were observed trafficking at the geographic coordinates of 86-44 and 87-63 on the map of Baneh in no man's land, south and south-east of border pillar 99/1 at the geographic coordinates of 96-53 and 98-51 on the map of Marivan in no man's land, north of border pillars 94/6 and 95.

It would be highly appreciated if this letter were circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Kamal KHARRAZI
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

UNITED
NATIONS

S

Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/25233
3 February 1993

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

NOTE VERBALE DATED 2 FEBRUARY 1993 FROM THE PERMANENT MISSION OF POLAND TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

The Permanent Mission of Poland to the United Nations presents its compliments to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and, with reference to his note dated 26 October 1992, has the honour to inform him that no funds or assets of the Government of Iraq or its State bodies are held in Poland, and there are no Iraqi petroleum or petroleum products subject to the provisions of Security Council resolution 778 (1992) on the territory of Poland.

040293

93-06944 4020e (E) 040293

UNITED
NATIONS

S

Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/25234
3 February 1993

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

LETTER DATED 3 FEBRUARY 1993 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF CROATIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I have the honour to submit, enclosed herewith, a letter by Dr. Mate Granic and Mr. Vladimir Seks, Deputy Prime Ministers of Croatia, addressed to you.

I would kindly ask for your assistance in distributing this letter as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Mario NOBILO
Permanent Representative

Annex

Letter dated 2 February 1993 from the Deputy Prime Ministers of Croatia addressed to the Secretary-General

The Republic of Croatia, its authorities, public opinion makers and above all the population victimized and displaced due to the war aggression but nevertheless eagerly looking forward to a peaceful solution of the crisis, are patiently sustaining the unfulfilment of the internationally approved commitments taken by the "FR of Yugoslavia". Today, "FR of Yugoslavia" keeps hundreds of forcibly taken away and imprisoned Croats in their detention camps.

Systematically and quite intentionally "FR of Yugoslavia" failed to fulfil their assumed commitments to all international contracts and agreements agreed upon and signed by the two Governments in supportive cooperation with the International Committee of the Red Cross.

The authorities of the "FR of Yugoslavia" together with their army forces, paramilitaries and illegal Serbian local authorities in the occupied territories of the Republic of Croatia are responsible for almost 14,000 people, who either disappeared, were forcibly taken away or were detained.

Concurrently, by applying the methods and constructing the trials abusing the legal systems of modern States, detainees have been exposed to most severe atrocities, political pressures and so-called legal trials, beyond the control of public, in which individuals were denied their lawful right on self-defence. Croats from the most damaged or totally destroyed territories (Vukovar, Beli Manastir, Dalj, Drnis and others) subjected to ethnical cleansing in order that they could be finally colonized by Serbian population. are intentionally kept imprisoned to be sentenced to severest punishments. For its special purposes of blackmail and political pressure "FR of Yugoslavia" keeps the so-called Sombor group, citizens of Vukovar as well as all imprisoned Croats from Slavonia and Barania in detention refusing to obey its commitments in compliance with the principles of the Peace Conference.

By denying the international community and its authorities the right of access to all localities of mass graves in the occupied territories of the Republic of Croatia as well as by its constant refusal to publicly disclose the precise documentation on the missing and forcibly imprisoned persons in the territory of the Republic of Croatia, the "FR of Yugoslavia" is most wantonly violating the basic principles of the international humanitarian law.

Aware of its own doomed military, territorial and political targets on the territory of the Republic of Croatia, the "FR of Yugoslavia" is now taking its last step to accomplish its goal - keeps these persons in detention and refuses to exchange them in order to make pressure on the Republic of Croatia and thus delay the speedy realization of the UNPROFOR peace-keeping operation and slow down the process of finding a solution in compliance with the

International Peace Conference initiated by the United Nations and the European Community.

Only by its exceptionally hard making efforts the Government of the Republic of Croatia has succeeded to explain to its own suffering and displaced population how important it is to show additional understanding for the efforts of the international community in finding the solution to the crisis.

Your Excellency, highly appreciating your personal contributions, together with the efforts made by the Expert Commission for Investigation of War Crimes, which was established pursuant to paragraph 2 of Security Council resolution 780 (1992), and the reports of Mr. Tadeus Mazowiecki, Special Rapporteur to the United Nations Commission for Human Rights,

The Government of the Republic of Croatia, fully aware of your experience and authority, would be most thankful for your support in achieving:

- immediate and unconditional release and exchange of all detainees, forcibly imprisoned and sentenced Croats (in conformity with international agreements);

- free access under UNPROFOR protection to all mass graves localities in the occupied territories of the Republic of Croatia in accordance with the documentation already submitted to the United Nations;

- upon the release and exchange of all detainees, establishment of a special Joint Commission within the framework of the Peace Conference, which would systematically and finally resolve the problems of all missing persons or those detained during the aggression against the Republic of Croatia.

Be assured, Your Excellency, that the Republic of Croatia is fully cooperative and willing to fulfil all its commitments in this respect.

Vice Prime Minister

(Signed) Mate GRANIĆ, Ph.D.

Vice Prime Minister

(Signed) Vladimir ŠEKS

Enclosure

Letter dated 21 January 1993 from the Deputy Prime Ministers of Croatia addressed to the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia

On behalf of the Government of the Republic of Croatia, we wish to bring to your attention an important problem. With your personal contribution the solution of this problem may greatly enliven the spirit of the future talks and achievements of the Peace Conference.

Namely, the "FR of Yugoslavia" has repeatedly failed to fulfil their assumed commitments to the international contracts-agreements on prisoners exchanges - agreed upon by the Republic of Croatia and "the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" in cooperation with the International Committee of the Red Cross.

The first agreement of 6 January 1991, undertaken by the Government of the Republic of Croatia and the armed forces of the then Yugoslavia (JNA), established the principles of exchange of imprisoned and detained persons irrespective of place and/or territory of imprisonment or detention and the legal and other proceedings in progress based on the "all for all" principle - in conformity with the special criteria and under the supervision of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

On the basis of the agreement which was confirmed in Sarajevo, 11 February 1992, in Pecs, 20 March 1992, and in Geneva, 28 and 29 July 1992, the Prime Ministers of the Republic of Croatia and "FR of Yugoslavia" signed the agreement on 7 August 1992, which stated that unconditional exchange of all persons was to proceed according to the data of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

The "FR of Yugoslavia" made a grave violation of the reached agreement by failing to bring the previously agreed 124 persons under its control to the place of the exchange (Nemetin) on 14 October 1992.

On 18 October 1992 (Geneva), the Government of the "FR of Yugoslavia" had again committed itself to the release of the remaining prisoners but again failed to fulfil the commitment.

Finally, the authorities of the "FR of Yugoslavia" violated the last agreement (Budapest, 16 December 1992) by refusing to exchange persons who should have already been exchanged in Nemetin, 14 October 1992.

The exchange of the remaining imprisoned and detained persons is of exceptional importance to the Republic of Croatia. Finding out more about the destiny of Croatian casualties in the war against Croatia and their return from prisons through a prisoner exchange programme will primarily put an end to the suffering of their families, who are themselves mostly refugees from

the occupied territories in the Republic of Croatia. Especially grave fact is that the detained, the forcibly taken away and the imprisoned Croats, were exposed to great atrocities in the aggression against the Republic of Croatia, the destruction of Vukovar and villages in its area, the devastation and occupation of Beli Manastir, Dalj and other towns.

Today, they are exposed to inhuman treatment in detention, together with summary and political trials. There are special political purposes in the refusal to exchange a certain number of the imprisoned Croats who had been tried while in detention in the Republic of Serbia. Among them there is a group of 12 civilians who are imprisoned in the city of Sombor. The Government of the Republic of Croatia has reason to believe that one of these persons recently died in Sombor because of the miserable conditions of imprisonment. Some of the detainees have been delivered to Serbian illegal and paramilitary formations or local authorities in the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Their destiny is unknown. The authorities of the "FR of Yugoslavia" together with the illegal Serbian local authorities in the occupied territories of the Republic of Croatia are responsible for almost 14,000 people, who disappeared or were forcibly taken away.

The "FR of Yugoslavia" keeps these persons in detention and refuses to exchange them for special political and military purposes: pressure on the Republic of Croatia and the delay of a speedy solution in compliance with the principles of the Peace Conference. The practice is already well known: the repeated undertaking but not observing of the legally assumed commitments on an international level.

The Government of the Republic of Croatia highly appreciates the efforts of the International Committee of the Red Cross, but holds that an immediate action on the part of the international community is needed because of the grave violations of humanitarian law and commitments which were assumed by the "FR of Yugoslavia" on an international level.

Therefore, Gentlemen, we ask you to use your authority and influence to immediately put political pressure on the authorities of the "FR of Yugoslavia" and undertake measures aimed at the fulfilment of the assumed commitments and exchange of all prisoners in accordance with recognized and established principles.

Upon solution of this particularly urgent problem of the exchange of the prisoners, we take the liberty of suggesting the establishment of a Joint Commission within the framework of the Peace Conference, which would systematically and finally resolve the problems of disappeared persons or those forcibly taken away.

We believe that your precious effort will make a great contribution to the achievements of the Peace Conference. The Republic of Croatia is ready to fully cooeprate and will fulfil all its commitments.

Deputy Prime Minister

(Signed) Vladimir ŠEKS

Deputy Prime Minister

(Signed) Mate GRANIĆ